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ABSTRACT

The typology is based on 2 dimensions of the ideology of each American Indian movement. One of these dimensions is the time perspective of the movement, based on its handling of time and change. Movements are distinguished according to whether they amphasize the present, past, future, or a breadth of time perspective. Movements are also distinguished by their acculturative stance, their attitude toward the dominant, white culture. Three acculturative stances are identified: (1) counteracculturative; (2) adaptive; and (3) articulatory. With the aid of the typology, historical and contemporary Indian social movements are listed, categorized and discussed briefly. An extensive bibliography accompanies each category of social movements. (Author/FF)

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A TYPOLOGY FOR LEARNING/TEACHING ABOUT NATIVE AMERICAN/AMERICAN INDIAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

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Illinois State University

Paper presented at the Annual Meetings
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A TYPOLOGY FOR LEARNING/ TEACHING ABOUT NATIVEXAMERICAN/AMERICAN INDIAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS (Abstract)

A. Kay Clifton

A typology of American Indian social movements is presented. The typology is based on two dimensions of the ideology of each movement. One of these dimensions is the time perspective of the movement, based on its handling of time and change. Native American and American Indian movements are distinguised according to whether they emphasise a present time perspective, past time perspective, future time perspective, or a breadth of time perspective. Movements are also distinguished by their acculturative stance, their attitude toward the dominant, white culture. Three acculturative stances are identified: counter-acculturative, adaptive, articulatory. A typology is constructed by cross-classifying these two dimensions.

With the aid of the typology, historical and contemporary American Indian social movements are listed, categorised and discussed briefly. An extensive bibliography accompanies each category of social movements.

A TYPOLOGY AND SOURCES FOR LEARNING/TEACHING ABOUT NATIVE AMERICAN/AMERICAN INDIAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Introduction

Social movement concepts contribute a necessary, and for the most part heretofore neglected, perspective to American Indian religious and political behavior. They are important because, since European migration to the North American continent, much Native American political behavior has been and is currently group, tribal and intertribal protest of the effects of this migration on Native culture, personality and social systems. Social movement concepts also put into perspective several individualized solutions such as alcoholism, identified by Wallace[1] as substitutes for and sometimes preconditions for religious and political social movements.

Protests must first be understood from within. And social movement concepts, as compared with for instance deviancy or social problem concepts, emphasize non-dominant behavior from the perspective of the people being studied. Gusfield[2] stresses the fundamentalness of an indigenous perspective while discussing Mannheim's contributions:

> Mannheim ...points to the tremendous importance of ideological analysis if one is to understand how it is that a given set of people may reject what seems to others to be self-evident. Only then, by seeing ideas in terms of the social situation of the believers, in their paradigm of experience, can we adequately understand the meanings in which they are set.
>
> It is this phenomenon of the inability of one group to grasp the intellectual significance and legitimacy of another which makes the analysis of ideology so essential for the sociologist. It is essential because without understanding the experience from which the ideology has emerged, the student cannot see its plausability to the actors.

Teaching or learning about social movements must also emphasize ideology to compensate for the mass media emphasis on tactics. Through the mass media most citizens know the tactics of movements, but they seem not only implausible but even bizarre and frightening, in part because citizens have little acquaintance with the accompanying ideology. Indeed, ideology is inconceivable because stereotypes (stupidity, irrationality, savagery) of the categories of people in social movements, whether Blacks, Chicanos, Indians or women, preclude the existence of ideological creativity among them.

An historical perspective is likewise necessary for two important reasons. The protests are not new but instead have been continuing, in one form or another, since it became evident that the newly arrived Europeans intended to take over. Forbes[3] emphasizes this in an article which questions the validity of labeling today's protests "New Indian Resistance." The Indian revolt is the persistence of struggles that began against the first Spanish and English settlers in the 1500's. The cycles of protest and resistance changed in form, as a consequence of Indian/White experiences and as the general social environment changed. The current forms of Indian protest have historical precedents and have been partly shaped by some painful lessons derived from past conflicts with members of the dominant society.

An understanding of current Indian protests includes this historical perspective, one with which however, most descendents of New Americans are unfamiliar. Many people today wonder why the Indians are just beginning to protest, "after being pushed around for hundreds of years," as one of my students exclaimed. The problem is not why the protests now, but why the dominant-learned perspective is naive about non-dominant historical experiences. Because the political history of Native Americans/American Indians contains many kinds of protests.

The typology below which cross-classifies two important dimensions of the ideology of cultural protest movements, time perspective and acculturative stance, is a commencement effort to categorize for further study the variety of historical and current Native American and American Indian social movements. I present such a scheme and categorization with the intention of inviting criticism, because meaningful criticism presumes that more people are studying these social movements. The footnotes are beginning sources. However, the relevant literature is proliferating and one of the most valuable, continuing sources is the American Indian Historical Society,[4] its publications, meetings, reviews, and evaluations of other sources.

Change Orientation, Time Perspective and Acculturative Stance as Important Dimensions of Social Movement Ideologies

Change and Definitions of Social Movements

The study of social movements belongs in that part of the social psychological domain which focuses on change rather than stability of cultural, personal and social systems. More precisely, social movements are intended rather than unintended change, that which Blumer[5] identifies as specific social movements as compared with cultural drift and general social movements. Although social movements are thus indigenously defined, Turner[6] emphasizes that this should not prevent the enriching analysis of unintended outcomes due to internal and external tensions and conflicts.

Most definitions of social movements reflect intentional collective involvement with change. Those by Blumer, Cameron, Gusfield, King, McLaughton and Toch[7] denote action to promote change and include dissatisfaction with the status quo and consequent desire to construct a new future. However, it is the study of Native American/American Indian protest actions which illustrates the value of Turner and Killian's[8] broader definition which includes

both promotion of and resistance to change. The latter reaction involves fear of the group's anticipated future but relative satisfaction with its past/present and subsequent desire to preserve it.

Change and Time Perspective in the Ideology of Social Movements

Social system members which confront and protest change must display at least an implicit time perspective. Both Blumer and Gusfield[9] indicate that the ideology of a social movement consists in part of descriptions and analysis of the present as well as visions and predictions of the future. Thus ideology contains belief statements about the existence, characteristics and causes of past, present and future social objects and events. It also contains values, statements of desirable social objects and events, which the movement translates into present action toward the fulfillment of future goals.

The varied use of the three time directions in the construction of ideology gives social movements diverse propensities in strategy. In my Ph.D. thesis[10] I suggest that social movement ideologies display one of four time perspectives. Three time perspectives are unidirectional: present, past and future. Each of these is characterized by enthusiastic and practically exclusive commitment to defense of (in the case of the present), reconstruction of (in the case of the past) or preparation for (in the case of the future) a life to be found almost exclusively in the specified time direction. Talmon[11] recognizes the latter as the millennial dream. The fourth time perspective is a multi-directional, breadth of time perspective which reflects cognizance of the group's past and present, its future alternatives, and the possible connections among these time directions.

I will use time perspective as one dimension in the construction of a typology of Native American/American Indian social movements. Each social

movement organization will be classified as displaying either a 1) present time perspective, 2) a past time perspective, 3) a future time perspective, or 4) a breadth of time perspective.

Change and Acculturative Stance In Social Movement Ideologies

Since an important change-triggering event in Native American history is the intrusion of their culture by another, the ideologies usually express an acculturative stance. Several categorizations of acculturative stance exist, mostly by anthropologists such as be Aberle, Ash, Lantannairi, Linton, Lurle, Voget and Wallace.[12] These typologies are presumably unidimensional, although definitions and illustrations often include time references. The typology presented below is constructed by separating and cross-classifying these dimensions.

Linton (1943) first identified these movements, labeled them nativistic and defined them as attempts to revive or perpetuate cultural aspects, with a strong emphasis on elimination of alien customs, material and people. Voget (1956) further subdivides nativism into three forms, one of which is dynamic nativism, which is adamently contra-acculturative to the extent of open warfare, and seeks a return to traditional cultural patterns. Lantannairi (1963) identifies two phases of religious movements among North American Indians, the first of which is hostile toward Whites: it seeks to save the culture by rejecting White civilization and recovering and renovating what is indigenous. Ash (1971) while discussing Native American social movements identifies three phases of movements associated with Western imperialistic conquering of peoples. The first of these is armed opposition in defense of present conditions.

Each of the above identifies an aggressively hostile attitude toward White civilization and any internal cultural change as a result of contact or

assimilation. I will lable this attitude counter acculturative, partly because it has theoretical and empirical parallels with current counterculture movements.

Voget's (1956) second form of nativistic movements are called passive nativism, a transitional-adaptive form which is often socially unorganized and often accompanied by personal disorganization. Wallace (1956) identifies similar activities as a period of cultural distortion, and identifies vitalistic movements as those which emphasize importation of some alien elements into the culture. Lantannairi's (1963) second phase of religious movements seeks adaptation to White civilization without renouncing religious independence.

Ash's (1971) second phase includes non-political, quasi-religious movements which attempt a revitalization of individuals and culture, while collectively working through the shock of conquest.

Following Lantannairi and Voget, I will label these types of social movements ideologies adaptive. These ideologies recognize continuing White existence, and for the most part, greater armed strength and/or willingness to engage in suppression. There are possibly three reactions to this, and the first two do not result in social movements. One is adoption of dominant definitions or culture: acquiescing or possibly even passing. The second one is passive adaptation, which often results in quiet protest which is taken out on oneself and one's comrade. The third is active adaptation, which attempts preservation or reconstruction of the culture within limits permitted by the dominants.

Voget's (1956) last phase is reformative nativism, characterized by more realistic assessment of the present situation and goals, influenced by an appraisal of past experiences. Cultural purism is no longer sought, but instead selective borrowing is accompanied with modification and synthesis. Ash (1971)

identifies a third phase as political movements of national liberation. Many others, including Hertzberg, Deloria, Thomas, Wax and Witt[13] identify similar activities as Pan-Indianism, American Indian nationalism or even Red Power.

However, it is from Lurie[14] that I draw the label articulatory, which denotes relative cultural distinctiveness among Native Americans, combined with selective social and especially political coordination among Native American tribes in order to participate in and influence dominant social structures. It is partly made possible by the abandonment of the melting pot approach in the dominant society and its replacement with more pluralistic trends.

Thus, the typology will consist of three acculturative stances, counter-acculturative, adaptive and articulatory to be cross-classified with four time perspectives: present, past, future and breadth of time perspective. I suggest that social movements classified in each category display certain important ideological similarities. The more arduous task of evaluating the fruitfulness of this typological scheme awaits further investigation.

Counter Acculturative

Counter-Acculturative with Present Time Perspective

Where Natives were encountered by Europeans they were offered "civilization." At first they not only rejected most, except material European culture, but they viewed their own heritage as superior and Europeans as inadequate for survival on the land. Hagan (1961, p.11) reports an Indian response upon being offered college educations for the young men of the tribe.

> A spokesman declined, explaining that their young men who had been exposed to the White man's education had returned bad runners, ignorant of wood craft, susceptible to cold and hunger, "neither fit for hunters, warriors, nor counsellors." He did offer to make men of any Virginia youths sent to the Indians for instruction.

Figure 1: A TYPOLOGY OF NATIVE AMERICAN/AMERICAN INDIAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

TIME PERSPECTIVE	ACCULTURATIVE STANCE: COUNTER-ACCULTURATIVE	ADAPTIVE	ARTICULATORY
PRESENT	Wars of resistance (1539-1915) (15)	Personal and interpersonal disorganization. Peyotism (pre-1890-present as North American Church) Shakers (1881-present) (18)	Society of American Indians (1911-early 1920's) (22)
PAST	Delaware prophet Pontiac (1762-92) Tenskwatawa Tecumsah (1805-1813) Smohalla Chief Joseph (late 1860's-1880's) (16)	Kanakuk (1820's-post 1852) Mencmimi Dream Dance (1879-present) (19)	
FUTURE	Ghost Dance Wudziwob (1870's) Wuvoka (1890's) Earth Lodge (1870's) Dream Dance (1870's) Bole Maru (17)	Kolaskin (1870's-1930) (20)	
BREADTH		Handsome Lake (1749-present) (21)	Cherokee Renaissance and Supreme Court Case (1800-1832) NCAI (1944-present) NIYC (1961-present) AIM and other Trail of Broken Treaties organizations. (23)

As offers turned to intrusion and coercion, they began as early as 1539 in the Southwest, 1607 in Virginia and 1636 in New England to resist encroachment. These wars of resistance continued until 1915, over 350 years. Although some lasted but parts of years and others involved a generation, it thus took us cumulatively one-and-one-half times more years to wrest most of the land away from the Native nations (350) than the number of years of the existence of this nation (almost 200).

The organization in these wars was often temporary. Even when the successful wars were completed, most Indians disbanded to continue seasonal activities. Most were not familiar with what we now recognize as "manifest destiny," the ideology which justified and persistently propelled the invaders. Ultimately, if nothing else conquered the natives, inundating numbers of people and the diseases they spread did.

Even so, this take over was not without great monetary cost. So committed to defense of their culture and territory were the Indians, and so hungry for land were the Europeans that the new nation's policy had become riddance of the Natives. By 1870, it is estimated to have cost the United States government about one billion dollars for each exterminated Indian.

Brandon (1961, p. 318) summarizes the causes of these wars of resistance:

> The [plains] wars were founded on very much the same elements as in the Indians wars that had gone before. At the bottom there was pressure for property-time after time agreements on reservations were upset by mining, railroad or land-speculation interests that were able to bring sufficient influence to bear on the governments. Orders went out to persuade the Indians to accept revised treaties and revised reservations. The Indians often had to be persuaded by force. ...General George Crook, the most experienced of western Indian-fighters, summed up this process: "Greed and avarice on the part of the Whites-in other words, the almighty dollar, is at the bottom of nine-tenths of all our Indian troubles."

Brandon also discusses subsidiary causes: dissident tribal bands who didn't accept treaties, renegade warriors, uncontrollable Whites such as boot-

leggers, traders, prospectors, animal and Indian hunters, and the disappearance of buffalo. Indians also recognized the same causes as illustrated in the words of Blackhawk:

> He (Blackhawk) has fought for his countrymen, the squaws and papooses, against White men who came, year after year, to cheat them and take away their land. You know the cause of our making war. It is known to all White men. They ought to be ashamed of it. The White men despise the Indians, and drive them from their homes. But the Indians are not deceitful. The White men speak bad of the Indian, and look at him spitefully. But the Indian does not tell lies; Indians do not steal.
>
> An Indian who is as bad as the White man could not live in our nation; he would be put to death, and eat up by the wolves. The White men are bad school-masters; they carry false looks, and deal in false actions; they smile in the face of the poor Indian to cheat him; they shake them by the hand to gain their confidence, to make them drunk, to deceive them, and ruin our wives. We told them to let us alone; but they followed on and beset our paths, and they coiled themselves among us like the snake. They poisened us by their touch. We were not safe. We lived in danger. We were becoming like them, hypocrites and liars, adulterers, lazy drones, all talkers and no workers.
> ...Things were growing worse. There were no deer in the forest. The opposum and beaver were fled; the springs were drying up, and our squaws and papooses without victuals to keep them from starving; we called a great council and built a large fire. The spirit of our fathers arose and spoke to us to avenge our wrongs or die. (Witt and Steiner pp. 10-11)

These wars are listed in regional and chronological order in Figure II.

Figure II: NATIVE AMERICAN FRONTIER WARS

NORTHEAST

1636-1637:	Pequot wars against Massachusetts Bay Puritans
1643:	Wappinger against Dutch in New York
1643-1644:	Lower Hudson Delawarelans
1672-1676	King Phillips (Metacom) War. Wampanoag and Narraganset in Massachusetts
1680's-1690's	Iroquis against French in New York
1763-1767:	Delawares in alliance under Pontiac against English in Pennsylvania (PAST)
1775-1783:	Most Iroquois (Mohawk, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca) under leadership of Chief Joseph Brant side with British against American Revolutionaries

SOUTHEAST

1607-1610	
1622-1636, 1644:	Powhatan Confederacy War against English in Virginia, latter two led by Opechancanough
1711-1713:	Tuscarora War against English in Virginia and North Carolina
1715-1728:	Yamasee War: Carolina coastal tribes against English
1729-1730's:	Natchez War, involving Yazoo and some Chocktaw, in Louisiana and along Mississippi River against French.
1736-1753:	Chickasaw in five wars against French along Mississippi River
1813-1814:	Creek Confederacy War against Jackson-led English in Alabama.
1836:	Some Creeks under Emathla, fight to resist removal.
1817-1818:	First Seminole War in Georgia and Northern Florida
1835-1842:	Second Seminole War, led by Osceola in Florida.
1855-1858:	Third Seminole War in Southern Florida under leadership of Billy Bowlegs.

MIDWEST (OLD NORTHWEST)

1770's-1794:	Indian Wars under leadership of Little Turtle of Old Northwest, including Miami and several other tribes.
1811-1815:	Tecumseh's confederacy (tribes from Florida to upper Missouri River) war to hold Indian border at Ohio River and ally with British is War of 1812.
1832:	Black Hawk War to resist removing Sauk and Fox across Mississippi River.

PLAINS

1854-1864:	Beginning of Plains Indian Wars: Sioux and Cheyenne against cavalry in Kansas and Wyoming at Fort Laramie till Sand Creek massacre of Cheyenne.
1862-1865-1868:	Sioux, in Minnesota with Little Crow and on the Plains with Red Cloud.
1870's-1877:	Sioux and Cheyenne under Sitting Bull, Gall and Crazy Horse.

SOUTHWEST

1539-1540:	Zuni's against Spanish
1650-1680:	Apaches and Pueblos against Spanish
1680:	Pueblo revolt with Pope against Spanish
1692-1696:	Commanche's against Spanish in Texas
1781:	Yuma against Spanish in California
1836-1875:	Commanche's versus Texans.
1849-1851;	
1858-1864:	Navahoes in New Mexico
1850-1880:	California Indian "Wars"
1850's-1871:	Apaches under Red Sleeves and Cochise
1876-1886:	Apaches resist removal under Victorio, Geronimo and Nana
1879:	Utes in Colorado
1870's:	Bannocks in Idaho
1915:	Ute War

NORTHWEST

1897-1850:	Cayuse War in Oregon
1853-1856:	Rogue River Indians in Southern Oregon
1855-1858:	Yakima and other Northwest tribes in Oregon and Washington
1872-1873:	Modocs with Kintpush in Oregon and California.
1877:	Nez Perce with Chief Joseph in Nevada, Wyoming, and Montana.

Most authorities agree that after the apparent failure of military defense of their land, the nature of Indian resistance movements changed. In the face of the defeat of previously proud and victorious warriors and decimation by disease, Indian faith in their own natural powers was problematic. Still determined to preserve what remained, Indian peoples began to turn to leaders who received and/or constructed belief and value systems which explained and sometimes buttressed natural events with supernatural forces.

This engagement of supernatural forces combined with time perspective to produce two more types of counter-acculturative protests and later three types of adaptive movements. As tribes and intertribal coalitions resisted further encroachment and its effects, this frequently took the form of internally-oriented movements, intended to promote personal and social as well as cultural revitalization. Occasionally these ideologies, when combined with a counter-acculturative stance and frustration, stimulated externally-oriented, aggressive responses.

These movements were simultaneously battling unwanted change imposed from without and promoting change within. It is the internally-oriented aspect which continues into the adaptive phase, sometimes with the same leaders who were originally followers but adapt the ideology to the new conditions. The ideologies emphasize a remembered past, an envisioned future and sometimes a combination, as alternatives to a disintegrating present. Some of the ideologies of the internally-oriented movements have become institutionalized and exist as religious practices among tribes today.

Counter-Acculturative with Past Time Perspective[16]

Among tribes in several regions, the ideology which appealed next was one which relied on the past to provide solutions. Leaders arose who attributed the downfall of the Indian to their desertion of traditions. A Delaware prophet, the Shawnee prophet Tenskwatawa, and Smohalla, the chief of the Wanapum in Washington preached doctrines of rejection of White ways and the personal and social corruptions of tribespeople, as well as a return to traditional native customs. Only adherence to past traditions would give them strength to be victorious over the White invaders. These ideologies also stressed tribal cohesiveness (indicating what a problem it had become) and promoted intertribal coordination.

These ideologies helped spur armed expeditions by respectively the Algonkian, Pontiac in 1792, the Shawnee, Tecumseh in 1811, and Chief Joseph of the Nez Perces in 1877. Although each ended in defeat, their plans and actions displayed unusual political and/or military expertise. Both Pontiac and Tecumseh had organized extensive confederacies among Indians east of the Mississippi River.

The esteem with which these leaders are held, not only among their own people, but among their enemies as well is related by Harrison, Tecumseh's pursuer:

> (Tecumseh) has taken for his model the celebrated Pontiac, and I am persuaded he will bear a favorable comparison in every respect with that far-famed warrior.
> ...
> The implicit obedience and respect which the followers of Tecumseh pay him is really astonishing, and more than any other circumstance bespeaks him one of those uncommon geniuses which spring up occasionally to produce revolutions and overturn the established order of things. If it were not for the vicinity of the United States, he would perhaps be the founder of an empire that would rival in glory Mexico or Peru. No difficulties deter him. For four years he has been in constant motion... and wherever he goes he makes an impression favorable to his purposes. (Drake, as quoted in Mooney pp. 686-687.)

Counter-Acculturative With Future Time Perspective[17]

During the last decades of the 1800's the Indians west of the Mississippi were on, but not reconciled to reservations. Many traditions could not be practiced, let alone relied upon to provide solutions to group and individual problems. Poverty and oppression undermined their previous faith in their earthly traditional powers. They too became receptive to supernatural assistance in the struggle to resist White enculturation.

However, the time perspective in the Ghost Dance ideology and its variants differs from that in previous prophetic pronouncements. Rather than reliance on the past for strength, the Ghost Dance, although it contained traditional elements, emphasized messianic reliance on future cataclysmic events to rid the world of Whites as well as resurrect Indian ancesters and regenerate their culture. Indians could hasten this event primarily through involvement in ceremonial dancing. The faith in the coming of this event included a heavy reliance on magic; many believed they were invulnerable to White bullets.

The major prophets of the Ghost Dance were Wodziwob, a Paviotsos of Nevada and California, who originated the first wave in 1870, and Wovoka, a Paiute, who diffused the Ghost Dance in the early 1890's. Many prophets arose to help integrate the beliefs and practices into their own tribal traditions and White-induced experiences. Some variant thus spread among most tribes west of the Mississippi. One set of these variants deemphasized the return of the dead and instead planned for the future cataclysmic events (Earth Lodge) or changed the future natural catastrophe to reliance on an afterlife as a reward (Bole Maru).

The widespread receptiveness to this set of beliefs and practices is intriguing. Mooney (1896, p. 704) states that:

> Various other prophets of more or less local celebrity have arisen from time to time among the tribes, and the resurrection of the dead and the return to olden things have usually figured prominently in their prophecies. In fact, this idea has probably been the day dream of every Indian medicine man since the Whites first landed in America.

Wallace (p. viii in Mooney, 1965) however, indicates that later research, finds that the belief in the return of the dead encouraged by dances, probably predated White arrival. It is this tradition which was thus emphasized and elaborated upon by the belief in a future cataclysmic event.

The counter-acculturative dimension of the Ghost Dance was recognized by White authorities, as given evidence by the fact that most prophets were jailed and followers were persecuted. The most familiar of these incidents is the massacre of the Sioux at Wounded Knee in 1890.

Adaptive Acculturative Stance

Adaptive Acculturative Stance with Present Time Perspective[18]

As the take over by Whites, or the failure of counter-acculturative protests were realized, one reaction was what Wallace labels regressive innovations: alcoholism, passivity, ambivalent dependency, self derogation. While these are usually studied as social problems or individual deviances, scholars are beginning as Wallace did, to recognize a protest perspective to them. They are viewed as socially disorganized substitutes for or early phases of potential social movements among culturally distorted peoples.

The first full statement of this hypothesis is by N.O. Lurie. She labels North American Indian drinking patterns, the world's oldest on-going protest demonstration. Her hypothesis is

> ...that Indian people want to persist and succeed on their own terms as Indians, while at the same time borrowing freely from the material aspects of White culture.... Indian drinking is an established means of asserting and validating Indianness and will be either a managed and culturally patterned recreational activity or else not engaged in at all in direct proportion to the availability of other effective means of validating Indianness.

Lurie and others, such as Deloria, indicate that Indians did and are increasingly finding alternative ways to express protest and Indianness. The best evidence that Indians themselves negatively evaluated these individualized solutions is in the ideology of the many religious and politic-religious movements that are the topic of this paper. Most ideologies contain statements condemning such practices and admonishing believers to give them up and instead pursue social solutions.

Two such religious movements which offer immediate supernatural help with present circumstances are Peyotism and Shakerism. While both contain elements of millenial salvation, it is the immediate protection from disintegration which is emphasized. Both turn away from the past, although in fact build on it, and both accept adjustment to White culture, as long as religious independence is insured. Most importantly both provide believers with sources of power and social support to help heal individual physical and psychical diseases. Through these practices tribal and Indian cultural and social systems would be regenerated. Indicative of the severity and duration of the problems, cults with similar healing emphasis continued to emerge even in the twentieth century. (DeAngelo and Freeland.)

Adaptive Acculturative Stance with Past Time Perspective[19]

Kanakuk, among the Kickapoos of Illinois, the doctrinal successor of Tenskwatawa and the Delaware prophet, preached to his people to give up their vices and live peaceful traditional lives, to resist missionary and civilizing influences. His visions told him to relay that if they would do so, they would be allowed to live on their original land (Illinois) for many years until they would find an uncontested piece of land in which they could live in peace. Simultaneously Kanakuk traveled and talked to United States authorities to gain more time for his people before being relocated.

The dream dance of the Menonimi is a reinstatement of pagan religious traditions which promotes tribal brotherhood and Indian solidarity.

Adaptive Acculturative Stance with Future Time Perspective[20]

Another prophet, Kolaskin, among the Sanpoil in the northwest, also preached the rejection of individual vices. He wished to spiritually regenerate his people so that they could resist the continued cultural and social disintegration. Appeals were made to traditional religious values, but his cult expanded most when he emphasized, and on some occasions predicted, future natural catastrophes which would destroy non-believers.

Adaptive Acculturative Stance with Breadth of Time Perspective[21]

Handsome Lake's "Good Message" among the Iroquois is the most researched example of a religious social movement which considered present conditions, preached rebuilding by adopting the good elements of the traditional, justified borrowing entirely new elements which included both ideological and material cultural items, and reflected a general message of peaceful accommodation to Whites.

Lantannairi (1963, p. 121) describes the historical conditions which gave rise to Handsome Lake. The nation was at war with the French and was being occupied by Americans. They were also befit by internal conditions which Wallace identifies as revitalization preconditions: tribal strife, migration and subsequent view of fellow tribesmen as enemies, the spread of alcohol and diseases such as small pox and venereal diseases. "By 1750 the number of Iroquois had been reduced by half; they knew that they were threatened by extinction."

Wallace (1972) organizes Handsome Lake's visions and preachings into two gospels, the acpcalyptic and the social. The first gospel contains three

interrelated themes. Imminent world destruction is threatened, unless reform are made. Secondly, sins are described as basically those revolving around drunkenness and witchcraft and salvation is offered if the sins are confessed in one form or another and then abandoned.

Analysis by Wallace indicates that Handsome Lake's was not a radically new religion, but instead an endorsement and revival of the old. Accordingly, Handsome Lake's pronouncements retained the important ceremonies and festivals that celebrated the seasonal and harvest cycle. What he did condemn were the "frolics and dancing" (Wax, p. 136-138) typically identified by missionaries as heathen or satanic, thus precluding their criticism and justification for intrusion.

Handsome Lake's message, especially through the social gospel, contributed profoundly to the rebirth of the cultural and social systems of his people. Wallace identifies the elements of the social gospel, which dealt with prescriptions for day-to-day-life: temperance, peace and internal social unity, tolerance of Whites who were considered different rather than good or evil, preservation of the tribes' land and negotiation to accomplish consolidation, adoption of Whites' education, farming and domestic technology in order to serve tribal interests and finally, he prescribed principles of personal and interpersonal morality which strengthened the family.

Articulatory

Articulatory Acculturative Stance with Present Time Perspective[22]

The above protest and revitalization efforts displayed variable success. Native population in the United States decreased from 850,000 to 220,000 in 1910 (Josephy, p. 51) and forced assimilation seemed to be "succeeding" them into "vanishing Americans" status. However, few tribes disappeared completely,

and many retain much of their distinctive cultural heritage. (Dozier, Yinger and Simpson)

Ironically, as suggested by Vine Deloria (1971) it was the White man's late nineteenth century and early twentieth century efforts at forced assimilation that provided the culturally diverse Indians with motives and facilitative structures to construct the first relatively successful American Indian social movement, although there are historical precedents (Witt). Government schools and other mainstream experiences intended to "Americanize" away the White-conceived Indianness. Deloris suggests that the schools created a category of Indian, without intrinsic philosophical or cultural meaning and identity. The first American Indian politically oriented, organization thus was motivated and facilitated through contacts in educational and similar custodial institutions. The Society of American Indians, the forerunner of important Indian organizations today, was started by educated Indians in 1911.

The society was a response to an all too ubiquitous set of circumstances in minority/majority relationships. Dominants label and define diverse people and/or peoples (whether Native Americans, African Americans, Latin-Americans, Asian Americans or women). In addition, they have the power to be effective through construction and maintenance of institutions through which the labeled are socialized according to dominant definitions. Many of the non-dominants are socialized to believe in these categories and try to fulfill them, even if doing so proves hollow to the point of personal and group disintegration.

The categorized start organizations to share or disseminate ideas about how they ought to proceed in fulfilling these externally-defined behavioral expectations. However, many of the early indigenous political organizations in these movements vacillate between fulfilling the dominant definitions and flirting with protestations of them.

The Society of American Indians held meetings in various regions and rather than building a national organization, was dominated by the immediate needs of these tribes. Many organizations or organization members who were adament exponents of protesting and challenging dominant categories and supportive institutions by offering indigenous definitions and independent organizations met analogous fate: relative oblivion. Possibly it was those which practiced ambivalence that continued or produced remnants that survived until today when the dominants have become somewhat more receptive or tolerant of indigenously determined categories and identities.

Articulatory Acculturative Stance with Breadth of Time Perspective[23]

American Indians today are represented by many politically, as well as religiously, oriented movement organizations. The external political goals of the organizations are to engage in and influence the policy of the wider social systems around them, whether local, state or federal. While there seems to be a renaissance of these goals, and while they also display a breadth of time perspective (preserving, studying and teaching about the past, learning and teaching dignity about being Indian, and negotiating for a more equitable future) it is well to remember that it is not the first time they have been utilized.

Previous generations of Indians have tried tribal and intertribal articulations with the dominant social system. They have mostly failed because the dominant policy could not yet accept Indian self-determination and because the dominant economy displayed extraordinary greed. An outstanding example of these is the Cherokee cultural renaissance between 1800 and 1832. At the height of this renaissance Cherokee leaders sought to obtain dominant legal sanction for maintaining their homeland in Georgia rather than experiencing removal to Indian Territory. Their suit against the State of Georgia's right to remove

them won in the Supreme Court in 1831. However, President Jackson not only failed to execute the decision but also began a campaign of bribery to get signatures on a removal treaty.

Deloria (1971, p. 659) traces the development of modern political organizations among Indians:

> In one way or another the Society of American Indians lasted until the early 1930's when it was superceded temporarily by the National Council of American Indians, which kept up the mythodology of a national Indian movement until the founding of the National Congress of American Indians in 1944.

The N.C.A.I. has served primarily as a lobby in Washington, fighting legislation which would result in termination of federal government supervision of tribes, because it is viewed as threatining tribal treaty rights. Other organizations such as the National Indian Youth Council, formed in 1961, contend that the present B.I.A. should be changed from its perceived paternalistic policies and reorganized to offer advice to local leadership.

Recent events (B.I.A. take over and Wounded Knee), while not without controversy within Indian communities, were planned and/or supported by a broad spectrum of Indian political organizations: National Indian Brotherhood (of Canada) Native American Rights Fund, American Indian Movement, National Indian Youth Council, National American Indian Council, National Council on Indian Work, National Indian Leadership Training, American Indian Commission on Alcohol and Drug Abuse, Native American Women's Action Council, United Native Americans, National Indian Lutheran Board, Coalition of Indian-Controlled School Boards, (Akwesasne Notes 5(1), p. 3, 1973)

The special issue of Akwesasne Notes (5(1), 1973 also discusses the 20 point proposal for "Trail of Broken Treaties:: For Renewal of Contracts-Reconstruction of Indian Communities and Securing an Indian Future, in America."

Background and recent protests involving these points may be found in the footnotes.

1. Restoration of Constitutional Treaty Making Authority
2. Establishment of Treaty Commission to make New Treaties
3. An Address to the American People and Joint Session of Congress
4. Commission to Review Treaty Commitments and Violations
5. Resolution of Unratified Treaties to the Senate
6. All Indians to be Governed by Treaty Relations
7. Mandatory Relief Against Treaty Rights Violations
8. Judicial Recognition of Indian Right to Interpret Treaties
9. Creation of Congressional Joint Committee on Reconstruction of Indian Relations
10. Land Reform and Restoration of a 110-million Acre Native Land Base
11. Revision of 25 U.S.C. 163; Restoration of Rights of Indians Terminated by Enrollment and Revocation of Prohibitions Against "Dual Benefits"
12. Repeal of State Laws Enacted under Public Law 280 (1953)
13. Resume Federal Protective Jurisdiction for Offenses Against Indians
14. Abolition of Bureau of Indian Affairs by 1976: A New Structure
15. Creation of an "Office on Federal Indian Relations and Community Restoration" (16 outlines its purposes)
17. Indian Commerce and Tax immunities
18. Protection of Indians' Religious Freedom and Cultural Integrity
19. National Referendums, Local Options and Forms of Indian Organization
20. Health, Housing, Employment, Economic Development and Education

FOOTNOTES

1. A.F.C. Wallace. "Revitalization Movements," AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST 58(April): 264-281, 1956.

2. J.R. Gusfield. (ed.) PROTEST, REFORM, AND REVOLT: A READER IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS. New York: Wiley, 1970, p. 396.

3. J. Forbes. "The New Indian Resistance?" AKWESASNA NOTES 4(3): 23-24, 1972. excerpt from chapter in his soon to be published book, NATIVE AMERICANS: A CALL FOR JUSTICE.

4. The American Indian Historical Society with national headquarters at 1451 Masonic Avenue in San Francisco, California, 94117, is led by Indians and sponsors a Convocation of American Indian Scholars, publishes three periodicals, THE INDIAN HISTORIAN (a scholarly journal), THE WEEWISH TREE (for young people), and WASSAJA (a national newspaper of Indian America). They also publish annually an INDEX TO LITERATURE ON THE AMERICAN INDIAN and provide free of charge a BOOKS IN PRINT ON THE AMERICAN INDIAN. The society reviews other sources in its above mentioned periodicals and at times prepares special publications which share the results of extended evaluations such as TEXTBOOKS AND THE AMERICAN INDIAN.

5. H. Blumer. "Collective Behavior," in A.M. Lee (ed.) NEW OUTLINE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY, New York: Barnes and Noble, 1946, pp. 165-220.

6. R.H. Turner. "Collective Behavior and Conflict: New Theoretical Frameworks," THE SOCIOLOGICAL QUARTERLY (April): 122-128, 1964.

7. H. Blumer, op. cit.; W.B. Cameron. MODERN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, New York: Random House, 1967; F.R. Gusfield, op.cit.; C.W. King. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES, New York: Random House, 1956; B. McHaughton (ed.) STUDIES IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE, New York: Free Press, 1969; H. Toch. THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965.

8. R. Turner and L.M. Killian. COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1957.

9. H. Blumer, op. cit. and J.R. Gusfield, op. cit., p. 397.

10. A. Kay Clifton. A THEORY OF TIME PERSPECTIVE AND A TEST OF CRUCIAL HYPOTHESES, Ph.D. thesis, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1971.

11. Y. Talmon. "Pursuit of the Millennium: The Relation Between Religious and Social Change," in Gusfield, op.cit., pp. 436-452.

12. D.F. Aberle THE PEYOTE RELIGION AMONG THE NAVAHO. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology No. 42, 1966; D.F. Aberle, "Relative Deprivation Theory; A Point of View," in P.B. Hammon (ed) CULTURAL AND SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY, New York: MacMillian, 1967, pp. 338-342; R. Ash, SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN AMERICA, 1971, pp. 141-147; V. Lantannairi, "The Peyote Cult," and "Other Prophetic Movements in North America," in his THE RELIGIONS OF THE OPPRESSED, New York: Knopf, 1963, Chap. 2 and 3; R. Linton. "Nativistic Movements," AMERICAN ANTHROPOLIGIST 45: 230-240, 1943; N.O. Lurie. "The Contemporary American Indian Scene," in E.B. Leacock and Lurie, pp. 418-480; F.W. Voget, "The American Indian in Transition: Reformation and Accommodation," AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST 58: 249-263, 1956; A.F.C. Wallace, op. cit.

13. M. Wax. "Pan-Indian Responses to Invasion and Disruption," in his INDIAN AMERICANS: UNITY AND DIVERSITY, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1971, Chap. 6; V. Deloria, CUSTER DIED FOR YOUR SINS, N.Y.: MacMillian, 1969; H.H. Hertzberg. THE SEARCH FOR AN AMERICAN INDIAN IDENTITY (MODERN PAN-INDIAN MOVEMENTS), Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971; R.K. Thomas. "Pan-Indianism," and S.H. Witt, "Nationalistic Trends Among American Indians," in S. Levine and N.O. Lurie (eds.) THE AMERICAN INDIAN TODAY, op.cit.; also Pelican Books, 1970 and MIDCONTINENT AMERICAN STUDIES JOURNAL, (2), 1965.

14. N.O. Lurie. "The Contemporary American Indian Scene," in Levine and Lurie, op.cit.

15. For historical overviews read W. Brandon THE AMERICAN HERITAGE BOOK OF INDIANS, New York: Dell, 1971; W.T. Hagen. AMERICAN INDIANS, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961; E.H. Spicer. A AHORT HISTORY OF THE INDIANS OF THE UNITED STATES, New York: Van Nostrand, 1969; W.R. Jacobs, DISPOSSESSING THE AMERICAN INDIAN, New York: Scribners, 1972 is a good analysis of the grievances of the Indians in the east. D. Brown's BURY MY HEART AT WOUNDED KNEE, New York: Bantam is an account of Indian resistances in the west. Each of these has extensive bibliography for pursuing Indian wars in specific regions or among specific tribes. These sources may be expanded by a visit to a library card catalogue, checking titles such as Indian Wars. Accounts of specific uprisings in THE INDIAN HISTORIAN are particularly well researched, such as J. Holterman, "The Revolt of Estanislao" INDIAN HISTORIAN 3(1): 43-54, 1970; his "The Revolt of Yozcolo: Indian Warrior in the Fight for Freedom," INDIAN HISTORIAN 3(2): 19-23, 1970 and J.S. Waseon, "The Nimipu War," INDIAN HISTORIAN 3(4): 5-9, 1970.

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